

Message Text

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R 061855Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 05 BONN 07935

E.O. 11652: XGDS 1
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, US, WB, GW, GE, FR, UK
SUBJECT: FRG BRIEFING ON PLANS FOR NEGOTIATIONS
WITH GDR

REFS: (A) BERLIN 5949; (B) USBER 1147; (C) BERLIN 5857;
(D) USBER 1087; (E) BONN 7002; (F) USBER 1126;
(G) BONN 4456

BEGIN SUMMARY: MINISTER OF STATE WISCHNEWSKI BRIEFED
THE US, UK AMBASSADORS AND FRENCH CHARGE ON MAY 5 ON THE
CURRENT STATUS OF THE "BESTANDSAUFNAHME" (STOCK-TAKING,
A PACKAGE ORIGINALLY CONSISTING OF 84 FRG/GDR BILATERAL
ISSUES BUT NOW MUCH REDUCED IN SIZE. THE PACKAGE HAS
BEEN IN PREPARATION SINCE EARLY MARCH AND IS, IN PART,
AN FRG ATTEMPT TO GIVE FRESH IMPULSE TO STALLED
FRG/GDR NEGOTIATIONS. INTERNAL FRG CONSIDERATION OF THE
PACKAGE HAS JUST BEEN COMPLETED AND, AFTER IT IS
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DISCUSSED WITH THE OPPOSITION CDU/CSU WITHIN THE NEXT
FEW DAYS, THE FRG WILL INITIATE THE INITIAL SOUNDINGS
WITH THE GDR. MUCH OF THE PACKAGE, INCLUDING SEVERAL
OF THE MAJOR ITEMS, CONCERNS BERLIN, BUT, AS PRESENTLY
CONSTITUTED, THE PACKAGE APPEARS DEVOID OF AVIATION
MATTERS. WISCHNEWSKI REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED HIS AWARE-
NESS OF THE SPECIAL ALLIED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE

MATTERS AFFECTING BERLIN AND REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THE FRG'S INTENTION TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE ALLIES AT ALL STAGES. PRESENT PLANS ARE TO SOUND OUT THE GDR INITIALLY IN BONN, TO CONTINUE THE WINNOWING PROCESS IN EAST BERLIN AND FINALLY TO HAVE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE BERLIN SENAT AND BY FRG TECHNICAL AGENCIES. END SUMMARY

1.. MINISTER OF STATE WISCHNEWSKI BRIEFED THE US, AND UK AMBASSADORS AND FRENCH CHARGE IN THE CHANCELLERY ON MAY 5 ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE "BESTANDSAUFNAHME" OF FRG/GDR PROJECTS AND ISSUES. THE BRIEFING FOLLOWED UP AN EARLIER BRIEFING ON THE SAME SUBJECT (REF G) ON MARCH 10. BONN GROUP REPS FROM THE THREE EMBASSIES AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE, TOGETHER WITH THREE CHANCELLERY AIDES, WERE ALSO PRESENT.

2. WISCHNEWSKI EMPHASIZED THE FRG AWARENESS OF THE ALLIES' RESPONSIBILITY FOR BERLIN AND OF THE FACT THAT THEY THEREFORE HAVE A DIRECT INTEREST IN A NUMBER OF THE MATTERS INCLUDED IN THE PACKAGE. HE REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT THE ALLIES WOULD BE CLOSELY CONSULTED VIA THE BONN GROUP THROUGHOUT ALL STAGES OF FRG/GDR CONSIDERATION OF THE PACKAGE AND ASSURED THE AMBASSADORS THAT FULL ALLIED APPROVAL OF ANY AGREEMENTS AFFECTING BERLIN WOULD BE OBTAINED. IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE HIS DESIRE FOR CLOSE FRG/ALLIED CONSULTATION, HE NOTED THAT THE LAST STAGE IN THE FRG PROCESS OF INTERNAL CONSIDERATION, DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE SPD/FDP
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COALITION, HAD TAKEN PLACE ONLY THIS WEEK.

CONTENT OF PACKAGE

3. WISCHNEWSKI (EXCEPT AS NOTED, HE PROVIDED ALL THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN) BEGAN BY CITING THE FOUR LONG-STANDING BERLIN TRANSPORTATION MATTERS: NORTHERN CROSSING POINT (COMMENT: OF WHICH THE DUCKBILL IS A VITAL PART), TELTOW CANAL, SUEDEGELAENDE AND SPANDAU LOCK. HE RECALLED THAT THE BONN GROUP HAD BEEN OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF THESE MATTERS ON DECEMBER 2L, 1976 AND HAD DISCUSSED THEM ON JANUARY 25, 1977. THE FRG HOPES TO TAKE AN INITIATIVE, USING THESE FOUR ITEMS, TO GET THE STALLED SENAT/GDR TALKS MOVING AGAIN. IF THE GDR IS PREPARED TO AGREE TO A SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT OF THE BERLIN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, THE FRG IS PREPARED TO INCREASE TO DM 60 MILLION (FROM A PRIOR LEVEL OF DM 50 MILLION) THE AMOUNT IT IS PREPARED TO PAY FOR THE NORTHERN CROSSING POINT (COMMENT:

PRESUMABLY INCLUDING PURCHASE OF THE DUCKBILL) AND TO

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R 061855Z MAY 77
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INCREASE TO DM 70 MILLION (FROM A PRIOR LEVEL OF
DM 35-40 MILLION) THE AMOUNT IT WILL SPEND FOR THE
TELTOW CANAL'S REOPENING. HE NOTED THAT THE GDR HAS
INDICATED IT WANTS DM 90 MILLION FOR THE TELTOW CANAL.
THE FRG IS PREPARED TO BEAR THE ENTIRE COST OF THE
PROPOSED SPANDAU LOCK. WITH RESPECT TO THE SUEDE-
LAENDE, THE FRG IS READY TO INFORM THE GDR THAT THE
"FINANCING IS FULLY ASSURED." (COMMENT: HE DID NOT
SPECIFY WHETHER THIS REFERS ONLY TO THE RESOLUTION OF
CERTAIN BUDGETARY LIMITATIONS THE FRG HAS REPORTEDLY
ECNOUNTERED OR WHETHER IT ALSO MEANS THAT A GDR
FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION, LAST REPORTED AS DM 35 MILLION
IN CONTRAST TO DM 425 MILLION TO BE CONTRIBUTED BY
THE FRG, WILL NO LONGER BE SOUGHT.)

4. THE S-BAHN PROBLEM WILL BE DISCUSSED WITH THE BONN
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GROUP BEFORE ANY APPROACHES ARE MADE TO THE GDR.
(COMMENT: THE S-BAHN IS OPERATED BY GDR AUTHORITIES
AND OPERATES AT A DEFICIT IN EAST AND WEST BERLIN.
PAST PROPOSALS HAVE INCLUDED A CONTRIBUTION TO THE GDR
AND A LEASE OF PART OF THE S-BAHN BY WEST BERLIN.)

5. APART FROM THE FOUR MAJOR BERLIN MATTERS IN PARA-
GRAPH 3, THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHER MATTERS AFFECTING
BERLIN ACCESS ROUTES WHICH THE FRG PLANS TO RAISE
WITH THE GDR. THESE ARE:

A. EXPANSION TO SIX LANES OF A 1.6 KILOMETER
AUTOBAHN STRETCH NEAR HELMSTEDT;

B. IMPROVEMENTS TO THE HELMSTEDT AUTOBAHN
BRIDGE ; AND

C. IMPROVEMENT OF THE AUTOBAHN BORDER CROSSING
POINT AT WARTHA-HERLESHAUSEN.

THE FRG WOULD EXPECT TO PAY SOME DM 4 MILLION FOR THESE
IMPROVEMENTS.

6. THE FRG ALSO PLANS TO RAISE POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS
TO THE "VITAL" QUESTION OF THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY FROM
THE FRG TO BERLIN. THE GDR IS EXPECTED TO BE
PARTICULARLY RESERVED ON THIS MATTER BUT MAY BE
INTERESTED IF THE FRG PAYS NOT ONLY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION
OF THE NECESSARY TRANSMISSION FACILITIES BUT ALSO
TRANSIT FEES.

7. THE PROBLEM OF NON-COMMERCIAL PAYMENTS WILL BE A
SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. (COMMENT: THE GDR HAS HERETO-
FORE ALLOWED SUCH PAYMENTS ONLY TO THE EXTENT THEY ARE
BALANCED BY PAYMENTS GOING FROM THE FRG TO THE GDR.)

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8. ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTIONS INVOLVE AN AREA IN WHICH
THE GDR IS INTERESTED BUT ON WHICH NEGOTIATIONS ARE
PRESENTLY STALLED. THESE INCLUDE POLLUTION OF THE
WERRA AND SAALE RIVERS AS WELL AS BERLIN WATER POLLU-
TION PROBLEMS.

9. THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS WHICH THE FRG FEELS COM-
PELLED TO RAISE ALTHOUGH THERE IS LITTLE HOPE THAT THE

GDR WILL RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY. THESE ARE:

A. REDUCTION OF THE AGE MINIMUM FOR GDR PENSION-ERS TO VISIT THE FRG;

B. CULTURAL QUESTIONS;

C. THE GDR DENIAL OF ENTRY INTO THE GDR OF SOME WEST GERMANS AND WEST BERLINERS; AND

D. THE IMPOSITION OF STREET-USE FEES IN EAST BERLIN.

10. ALTHOUGH THE GDR HARASSMENT OF GDR VISITORS TO THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN EAST BERLIN HAS SUBSIDED, THE GDR REFUSAL TO ALLOW THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATION TO REPRESENT WEST BERLINERS WHO ARE NOT IN THE GDR WILL BE RAISED.

11. THE FRG WILL ALSO TREAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE FRG LUMP SUM TRANSIT AND POSTAL PAYMENTS TO THE GDR. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, THE FRG ADMITS THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE, THE DM 30 MILLION NOW BEING PAID IS INADEQUATE. HOWEVER, THE GDR DEMAND FOR DM 155

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R 061855Z MAY 77
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MILLION IS UNREALISTIC.

12. THERE ARE A SERIES OF ISSUES IN WHICH THE GDR IS INTERESTED BUT WHICH THE FRG WILL DISCUSS ONLY TO A LIMITED DEGREE, IF AT ALL. THESE ARE:

A. THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (NOT NEGOTIABLE);

B. DISSOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL OFFICE IN SALZGITTER (NOT NEGOTIABLE). (COMMENT: THE OFFICE COLLECTS EVIDENCE ON "ACTS OF VIOLENCE" BY GDR OFFICIALS, E.G. SHOOTINGS ON THE BORDER. THE FRG PRESS, IN REPORTING RECENTLY ENACTED GDR LEGISLATION INCREASING PENALTIES AGAINST THOSE WHO ASSIST GDR CITIZENS TO FLEE, NOTED THAT ONE PROVISION IS DIRECTED AGAINST INTER ALIA THE SALZGITTER EMPLOYEES.)
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C. MEASURES AGAINST THOSE WHO AID ESCAPEES (NOT NEGOTIABLE, ALTHOUGH THE FRG WILL CONSIDER DISTRIBUTING HANDBILLS TO THOSE USING THE AUTOBAHN TRANSIT ROUTES, WHICH HANDBILLS WOULD POINT OUT THE ILLEGALITY UNDER GDR LAW OF ASSISTING WOULD-BE ESCAPEES);

D. BORDER COMMISSION (THE FRG WISHES TO EXCLUDE THE ELBE RIVER BORDER PROBLEM WHILE DEALING WITH OTHERS);

E. PAYMENT FOR RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION WORK IN WEST BERLIN. (COMMENT: THE FRG HAS PAID DM 41.4 MILLION BUT HAS WITHHELD DM 9.6 MILLION BECAUSE ALL THE WORK AGREED TO WAS NOT PERFORMED.)

13. SINCE NO NEW FRG MAJOR PROJECTS IN THE GDR ARE ANTICIPATED, THERE IS NO NEED FOR A DISCUSSION OF AN INCREASE IN THE CURRENT CEILING OF DM 1.6 MILLION INVESTMENT INSURANCE. LIKEWISE, THE "SWING" AGREEMENT DOES NOT EXPIRE UNTIL 1980, SO IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER.

14. WISCHNEWSKI ALSO MENTIONED BRIEFLY SEVERAL MAJOR PROJECTS WITH REGARD TO WHICH, FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, NO IMMEDIATE PROGRESS IS ANTICIPATED. HOWEVER, THESE WILL BE BROACHED WITH THE GDR TO DETERMINE THE DEGREE OF GDR INTEREST. THESE ARE:

A. ENERGY COOPERATION, INVOLVING THE POSSIBLE CONSTRUCTION OF A NUCLEAR POWER PLANT (PRESUMABLY IN THE GDR) AND THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY TO WEST BERLIN. THIS MATTER WAS LAST DISCUSSED IN 1974.

B. THE HAMBURG-BERLIN AUTOBAHN. THE GDR HAS INDICATED IT IS NOT INTERESTED IN CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS
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BECAUSE IT WILL NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY CONSTRUCTION FACILITIES UNTIL 1978. (COMMENT: THE GDR AGREED IN DECEMBER 1975 TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS IN 1978 ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTOBAHN, WITH CONSTRUCTION TO BEGIN IN 1980. THE FRG DESIRE APPEARS TO BE TO ACCELERATE THE NEGOTIATIONS.)

C. AN ELBE-HAVEL CANAL. THE GDR HAS INDICATED, IN A VERY GENERAL FASHION, THAT IT MIGHT BE INTERESTED.

15. THE FRG IS ALSO CONSIDERING IMPOSING A TAX ON GDR TRUCKS COMING TO THE FRG, SIMILAR TO THAT IMPOSED BY THE GDR ON FRG TRUCKS, IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE A MUTUAL REMISSION OF SUCH TAXES. FRG TRUCKS ARE NOW PAYING SOME DM 8-10 MILLION ANNUALLY AND THE TAX ON GDR TRUCKS WOULD BE ABOUT THE SAME AMOUNT.

MODALITIES FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS

16. WISCHNEWSKI SAID THAT AFTER INFORMING THE OPPOSITION CDU AND DISCUSSING WITH THE BONN GROUP THE ISSUES WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN DISCUSSED THERE BUT WHICH MIGHT AFFECT THE ALLIES, THE NEXT STEP IS FOR THE FRG TO TAKE "POLITICAL SOUNDINGS" WITH THE GDR REPRESENTATIVE IN BONN, MICHAEL KOHL, IN ORDER TO DETERMINE THE GDR'S INTEREST IN NEGOTIATIONS. THE FIRST STEP, HE EMPHASIZED, IS "SOUNDING OUT," NOT NEGOTIATION. ONCE IT IS DETERMINED WHAT THE GDR IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS SERIOUSLY, THE FRG WILL MOVE INTO THE "SECOND PHASE" OF DISCUSSIONS IN EAST BERLIN IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHICH ITEMS IN THE PACKAGE ARE "REALISTIC." FOLLOWING THIS TWO-PHASE FILTERING PROCESS, THE BERLIN SENAT

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AND THE TECHNICAL AGENCIES WILL PURSUE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON THOSE MATTERS WHERE PROMISE OF SUCCESS EXISTS. HE SAID THAT THE FRG WILL CONSULT WITH THE BONN GROUP AGAIN AFTER THE INITIAL SOUNDINGS. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GDR WILL TAKE PLACE ONLY AFTER THE BONN GROUP HAS BEEN FULLY CONSULTED AND HAS GIVEN ITS AGREEMENT.

17. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THERE ARE SIGNALS WHICH CAUSE THE FRG TO BELIEVE THE GDR IS READY TO NEGOTIATE, WHICH SIGNALS WOULD CONTRAST WITH GDR ACTIONS EARLIER IN THE YEAR, WISCHNEWSKI COMMENTED THAT ONE MUST, OF COURSE, ALWAYS BE CAUTIOUS IN EVALUATING THE GDR. HE ADMITTED THAT THE GDR HAS MADE SOME OF THE BILATERAL HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS MORE DIFFICULT BUT BELIEVES THAT THE FRG MUST TAKE SERIOUSLY THE RECENT DECLARATIONS BY THE GDR OF ITS WILLINGNESS
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TO DISCUSS MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST WITH THE FRG. HE SAID THE FRG'S ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION IS THAT THE GDR IS SERIOUS AND THAT THE FRG HOPES THAT, IN THE FUTURE, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS MATTERS WITH THE GDR ON A CONTINUING BASIS, NOT ONLY IN PHASES. HE ALSO EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE, IN THE

FUTURE, FEWER DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GDR THAN IN THE RECENT PAST. THE FRG PLANS TO TAKE ITS TIME AND TO CONDUCT THE PROCESS "STEP BY STEP."

18. IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER QUESTION AS TO HOW THE FRG PLANS TO ENSURE THAT THE GDR WILL NOT ACHIEVE ITS GOAL OF DEALING DIRECTLY WITH BERLIN, THEREBY UNDERCUTTING BERLIN'S TIES TO THE FRG, HE SAID THAT THE FRG WILL BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR WITH THE GDR AND WILL LEAVE NO DOUBT IN THE GDR'S MIND ABOUT THE FRG'S DETERMINATION ON THIS POINT. THE SENAT NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF FRG/GDR RELATIONS. HE BELIEVES THE GDR IS SUFFICIENTLY INTERESTED, ESPECIALLY IN THE FOUR BIG BERLIN PROJECTS, TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE SINCE THERE IS "MATERIAL EQUALITY" OF PERFORMANCE ON BOTH SIDES.

19. COMMENT: WISCHNEWSKI WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD, FORTH-COMING AND RELAXED DURING THE ONE-HOUR BRIEFING. IN MARKED CONTRAST TO DECEMBER 1975 WHEN THE THREE AMBASSADORS WERE ASKED ON VERY SHORT NOTICE TO APPROVE THE FRG/GDR TRANSIT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN CONCLUDED, HE WAS OBVIOUSLY QUITE SENSITIVE TO THE NEED FOR CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE ALLIES AND REPEATEDLY REITERATED THE FRG'S DETERMINATION TO DO ITS PART. THE ALLIES' APPRECIATION FOR THIS ASSURANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION WAS EXPRESSED.

20. IT IS OF INTEREST THAT WISCHNEWSKI CHOSE TO BRIEF THE ALLIED AMBASSADORS BEFORE FORMALLY INFORMING THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION. SINCE THE OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE
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ALREADY INDICATED OPPOSITION TO ADDITIONAL LARGE FRG PAYMENTS TO THE GDR WITHOUT RECIPROCAL (AND LARGELY UNOBTAINABLE) GDR CONCESSIONS IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IT MAY BE THAT THE GOVERNMENT PLANS TO USE ALLIED INDICATIONS OF GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE PROPOSED APPROACH TO HELP OVERCOME OPPOSITION OBJECTIONS.

21. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO US IS THE FACT THAT, AT LEAST AS DESCRIBED BY WISCHNEWSKI, THE PACKAGE DOES NOT TREAT ANY AVIATION MATTERS. THE ORIGINAL 84 POINT BESTANDSAUFNAHME REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED THREE

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AVIATION SUBJECTS--THE GDR REQUEST FOR OVER-
FLIGHT RIGHTS TO INSTITUTE SCHEDULED SERVICE FROM
SCHOENEFELD TO ZURICH, INTERFLUG CHARTER FLIGHTS,
AND LUFTHANSA'S INTEREST IN INNER-GERMAN FLIGHTS TO
TEGEL. THE OMISSION OF THE FIRST TWO MAY BE BECAUSE
THE FRG IS STILL AWAITING OUR REACTION TO THE PROPOSED
FRG RESPONSE ON THE FIRST ONE--I.E., AGREEMENT TO THE
REQUEST IN RETURN FOR OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS WHICH WOULD
PERMIT LUFTHANSA TO LAND AT TEGEL EN ROUTE TO MOSCOW.
THE BESTANDSAUFNAHME REPORTEDLY DISMISSED THE THIRD
AS UNREALISTIC IN ANY CASE.

22. THE MUCH BRUITED CONTROVERSY ABOUT WHO IS TO
REPRESENT THE FRG IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS NOT
DIRECTLY ADDRESSED. WISCHNEWSKI GAVE THE IMPRESSION
THAT HE WILL CONDUCT THE INITIAL "POLITICAL" SOUNDINGS,
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WHICH ARE TO BE HELD IN BONN, LEAVING THE SECOND ROUND
TO FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE GAUS IN EAST BERLIN.
WHO WILL BE IN CHARGE OF THE THIRD STAGE, THE ACTUAL
NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES, WAS NOT SPELLED OUT BEYOND

WISCHNEWSKI'S REFERENCE TO THE SENAT AND TECHNICAL AGENCIES. IF THE FOREGOING IMPRESSION IS CORRECT, IT MIGHT GO A LONG WAY TOWARD ASSUAGING GAUS' ANNOYANCE AT WHAT HE REPORTEDLY CONSIDERS PLANS TO DOWNGRADE HIS ROLE (REF D).

23. HOW FORTHCOMING THE GDR WILL BE REMAINS TO BE SEEN BUT RECENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO TALK SERIOUSLY (REFS A, B, C). FACTORS DETERMINING THE PARAMETERS WITHIN WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL NECESSARILY BE CONDUCTED INCLUDE THE EXTENT OF THE FRG CITIZENRY'S WILLINGNESS TO SPEND EVEN MORE FOR BERLIN AND THE GDR, THE GDR'S FLEXIBILITY ON SOME "HUMANITARIAN" MEASURES, THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FRG, GDR AND THE ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO ALLOW PRACTICAL NEGOTIATIONS TO PROCEED IN A MANNER WHICH DOES NOT DO VIOLENCE TO THEIR RESPECTIVE LEGAL POSITIONS CONCERNING BERLIN, AND WHETHER THE USSR WILL SHOW INCREASED WILLINGNESS TO FIND A WAY TO CONCLUDE AGREEMENTS WITH THE FRG LATER THIS YEAR.
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SAS ID: 2620883
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Subject: FRG BRIEFING ON PLANS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH GDR
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, US, WB, GE, GC, FR, UK
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